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MEMORANDUM FOR: Chairman, Research Planning Steering Group
(RPSG)

THROUGH: 25X1
Chairman, Production Planning Review Group
(PRRG/Management & Analysis Support
Staff/MASS)

FROM: Melvin A. Goodman
Team Leader, USSR in Third World (Issue #11)

SUBJECT: Proposed Research Plan

The Issue

1. The Third World continues to grow in importance not only as a source of natural resources but also as a battleground in the broad US-Soviet struggle. Based on our experience with the Soviets, we believe that the USSR will increasingly act to manipulate the policies of individual Third World nations. Therefore, a systematic effort is needed to assess the objectives of Soviet penetration of key Third World countries and regions in order to:

- calibrate the level of internal penetration,
- assess Moscow's use of "surrogates" to establish effective influence in key areas and to destabilize key regions, and
- estimate the current and potential capability of Soviet actions to thwart US policy objectives.

The purpose of defining the issue in this manner is to determine those areas where the USSR will attempt to establish effective influence in the Third World in the 1980s, assess their chances for success, and analyze the implications for US interests.



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Focus of the Research Program

2. The proposed research program focuses on Soviet attempts to control the policies of Third World nations by manipulating internal situations to weaken resistance to Soviet pressure. Among Soviet methods to be analyzed in each country/region would be the:

- creation of economic and military dependence,
- support of terrorism and insurgency,
- manipulation of public opinion through propaganda or covert operations,
- threat of military action,
- exertion of influence on government decisionmaking through covert recruitment of government officials and placing of overt technical advisers, and
- use of surrogates to increase Soviet influence and presence.

Themes

3. In order to produce policy-relevant intelligence products that meet the above objectives, the team has organized a research program around four themes:

- Soviet Use of Surrogates
- Soviet Objectives at the Country and Regional Level
- Third World Attitudes to the USSR
- Tools of Soviet Penetration

- A. Theme I: Soviet Use of Surrogates. First priority will be given to a series of papers on Soviet surrogates in order to examine Soviet methods for establishing effective influence in key areas and to assess the vulnerability of Third World regions and regimes to Soviet penetration efforts. These papers will examine the willingness and motivation of patron

states and other non-governmental groups to support Soviet interests, and will assess Soviet leverage over these states and groups. This series will include the following papers:

- USSR-Cuba: Soviet Responses to Increased Cuban Security Concerns--an assessment of the implications of increased Soviet military aid and security assistance to Cuba and the impact of Moscow's unwillingness to give a strong defense commitment to Castro. The report also will examine the linkage between Cuban dependence on the Soviets and Soviet leverage in Central America. (SOVA/2Q '82)
- USSR-Libya: Closer Relations--a review of the improvement in relations that has taken place in the past year, including an assessment of the linkage between Libyan dependency on the Soviets for military hardware and Soviet influence in North Africa. (SOVA/2Q '82)
- Soviet-Vietnamese Relations: Prospects for Change--an assessment of Moscow's entree into the region as a result of Vietnamese dependency on the Soviet connection, as well as an examination of the elements of instability in the alliance, particularly Vietnamese resentment of Soviet attempts to dominate. (SOVA/3Q '82)
- Soviet-Indian Alliance in the Context of Asian Geopolitics--an assessment of Soviet efforts to establish India as a pocket of influence in a strategically vital region in order to eliminate Western and Chinese influence from the region. (SOVA 2Q '82)
- Soviet-Cuban Collaboration in the Third World--an assessment of the trends and implications of cooperation in Africa and Central America. (SOVA/4Q '82)

- B. Theme II. Soviet Objectives at the Country and Regional Level. Papers included under this theme will try to determine immediate Soviet objectives at the country and regional level with particular emphasis on the likelihood of Moscow's chances of

success and the implications for US interests. This series will include the following papers.

- Soviet Policy and the Radical Left in Central America--an evaluation of Soviet objectives and options in Central America, and an assessment of the significance of the US factor in Soviet thinking. (SOVA/3Q '82)
- The USSR and Southern Africa: Moscow and the Namibia Peace Process--a paper on Soviet policy and options in regard to the Namibian peace process as well as Moscow's capability to influence that process. (SOVA/2Q '82)
- The USSR and the Middle East: Moscow and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process--an assessment of Soviet efforts to manipulate the peace process in the Middle East in the wake of Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and an analysis of Soviet leverage in this regard. (SOVA/2Q '82)
- The USSR and Iraq: Moscow's View of Saddam Hussein's Regime--an analysis of the war between Iran and Iraq on Soviet influence in Baghdad with particular emphasis on Moscow's interest in a change of the regime in Iraq. (SOVA/2Q '82)
- Soviet Activities and Methods in Latin America--an assessment of Soviet opportunities in Latin America in the near term with special emphasis on Moscow's efforts to exploit US vulnerabilities in the area. (SOVA/3Q '82)

C. Theme III: Third World Attitude Toward the USSR.
Papers listed under this theme will try to determine Third World attitudes toward the USSR in order to understand Soviet opportunities and vulnerabilities in key regions. Special emphasis will be placed on the attitudes of key Third World states towards the kind of relationship they are likely to favor and pursue with the USSR. This series will include the following papers:

- LDC Attitudes toward Involvement with the USSR--an analysis of attitudes and motivations of LDCs toward dealing with the USSR with special attention to the USSR's ability to compete in the Third World and the limits to Soviet involvement. (NIC/1Q '82)


- Key Military Issues in the Middle East--an assessment of military relationships and trends throughout the region, focusing on Soviet components, opportunities, and vulnerabilities. (NESE/2Q '82)
- India Under Gandhi--a report on political, economic, and social factors in India with emphasis on how these factors shape Indian domestic and foreign policy towards the USSR and its place in the NAM. (NESA/3Q '82)
- International Forces and the Revolutionary Process in Central America--an analysis of the international participants supporting either the extreme left or moderate groups in Central America. (LA/2Q '82)
- Soviets in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Reaction to the Threat--an assessment of ASEAN policies and attitudes toward Soviet political, military, and economic policies. (EAA/2Q '82)
- Southern Africa: Challenge to Marxism--a report on Soviet opportunities for expansion of presence and influence in southern Africa. (ALA/2Q '82)

D. Theme IV: Tools of Soviet Penetration. This theme will examine the military, economic, and political tools that Moscow employs in the Third World and an assessment of the success of its endeavors. These papers will also make judgments about the utility of key states to Soviet objectives in key regions. This series will include the following papers:

- Soviet Penetration in the Middle East--a paper describing the political, economic, and military tools used by the Soviets to manipulate the policies and activities of key states in the region. (NIC/2Q '82)
- Soviet Out-of-Area Deployments--an assessment of Moscow's efforts to gain access and deployments in key regions and states with special attention to those likely countries targetted by the USSR for out-of-area deployment. (SOVA/2Q '82)

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- Soviet Economic Aid to Public Sector Industry--a paper on the scope, costs, and benefits of Soviet economic aid with emphasis on possible payoff in the areas of oil, gas, and steel. (OGI/3Q '82)
- Communist Military and Economic Aid Activities in the Third World 1981--description of the individual relationships between the USSR and the LDCs. (OGI/2Q '82)
- Handbook of Soviet Presence in the Third World--a handbook of the official Soviet presence in the Third World with special emphasis on trends in military and economic assistance, the level and number of leadership contacts, and the instruments of diplomatic contacts. (OGI/2Q '82)
- Soviet Arms Export Prices--a paper on trends in Soviet pricing of arms for export. (OGI/3Q '82)
- The International Role of Soviet Intelligence Services--an assessment of the international behavior of the KGB and other intelligence agencies with special emphasis on covert action, liaison activities, and intelligence and paramilitary training. (Exploratory)


for **MELVIN A. GOODMAN**
Team Leader, Issue # 11
USSR in Third World

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